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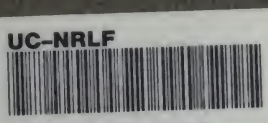

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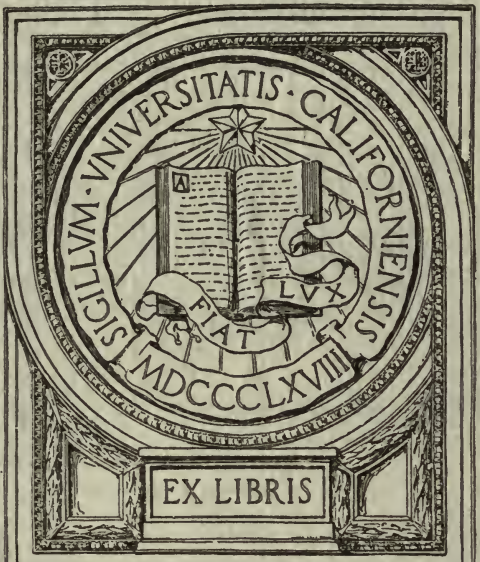

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By REV. P. C. YORKE, D. D.

A PAPER READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, AT PITTSBURG, PA., JUNE 24, 1912

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IT is with great reluctance that I approach the consideration of this subject. In the first place, I remember the domestic controversy that raged some twenty years ago over its theoretical aspect, and I should be very sorry if any word of mine might lead to a revival of that unhappy dispute. In the second place, a consideration of the extrinsic and intrinsic principles that must determine our practical attitude towards present tendencies, involves questions that are very much in evidence at the moment, and it might appear to the captious that our discussion of them in this gathering is not without ulterior motives. In the third

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place, I must confess that I am not sufficiently conversant with the literature of the subject to offer you a learned paper, nor have I the opportunity now for that research which the importance of the matter and the dignity of this assembly demand. At the same time I know your kindness will make allowance for my shortcomings, because I am writing, as it were, under obedience, and because I do not intend to enter on the thorny road of rights and duties. We are, as Cleveland said, facing conditions, not theories, and my object is to give you a plain description of those conditions, to discover the causes that produce them, and finally to suggest the practical, matter-of-fact attitude we, as Catholics and Americans, should take toward the Family, the State and the School.

I. THE CONDITIONS.

That our present conditions in the United States are very different from what they were twenty years ago, is evi-

dent to the most superficial observer. Indeed, it would be strange if they were not, for human conditions are always changing, not in America alone, but the world over. The very name we bestow on our civil society, the State, is a witness to this truth. Its significance therefore lies not in the fact of the change, but in the direction of the change. Whither are we drifting? or if we are pursuing a set course, by what stars do we sail?

I think you will all agree with me that the general trend of public opinion in this country today is towards an exaltation of the idea of civil society, an enlargement of its powers, and a more frequent exercise of its activities—a process which, for the want of a better word, I will call the "magnification" of the State. By the "magnification" of the State I do not mean that natural political growth of the central power at the expense of the local units which began at the first confederation and was made secure by the results of the Civil War; that is, I am not

speaking of the growth of the National or Federal Government as against States' Rights. I mean rather a change in the idea of the State itself, whether it be represented by the President at Washington or by the humblest trustee of a village school.

It is especially significant that this "magnification" of the State is looked upon, not as something exceptional, but as something natural and normal. Just as we say, *"Inter arma silent leges,"* so we know that there are abnormal conditions in which the State may undertake enterprises that in ordinary circumstances it will leave to private initiative. In a famine or a flood, in a fire or an earthquake, in a plague or a panic, the State has to act, and to act quickly. In such cases the individual withers and is lost in the general need. Moreover, in States that are composed of superior and inferior races or are made up of various classes or strata of differing degrees of prosperity and culture, usually the results of one or

more military conquests, we expect to find a modern government in its just desire to benefit all classes of its citizens, adopting measures that savor of paternalism. But here in America we are dealing with a homogeneous people that has enjoyed freedom for nearly a century and a half. We are dealing with a race which (neglecting the colored population) has had during that time a government the most democratic that has ever existed. We are dealing with a country where one man is as good as another, and where popular education has been worshipped as the palladium of popular liberty. We are dealing with a Constitution in which free thought and free speech have been maintained as in no other form of civil society. We are dealing with citizens whose franchises are of the broadest description and who sit in their curule chairs, not only as the kings the barbarian saw in the Roman Senate, but also as philosophers, the decision of whose wisdom is the court of last resort. Let the people rule, let the people decide,

is the slogan under which our hosts are marching forth to war, and it is on this people, this assembly of rulers and judges, in a time of peace and prosperity, that the "magnification" of the State is invoked as the only cure for the multitudinous evils that afflict us.

To describe adequately the process which I have called the "magnification" of the State would require a survey of all the departments of government and an examination of all the lines of national and local development. Such a survey would exceed the limits of a paper, and is of course not to be thought of. I will therefore take one specimen of the process, a specimen which I think will be of general interest to you as citizens, and of special interest to you as members of the teaching profession. I mean the "magnification" of the State in reference to the Family and the School.

There is not one of you, I am sure, that has not had forced upon him the actual and pressing question of the in-

creased cost of living. No words of mine could add to the discussions in the public press or describe the feelings of those who nowadays contemplate their monthly bills. So harrowing a subject is best left to silence. But we may ask, What is the cause of the growing dearness of the necessities of life? No doubt, there are many causes. Some will fix on the Tariff and some on the Trusts. I notice very few call attention to an element that is certainly as important as Tariff or Trusts, namely, the rising rate in the expenditure of the public funds.

The association of the words "publicans and sinners," so striking in the Roman period of Sacred History, is no longer in this country an idea "not understanded of the people." The taxgatherer is abroad in the land with a vengeance. During the past ten years, in a district where there has been neither boom nor catastrophe, my parish taxes have increased a hundred per cent. What is the reason? The reason is that the city is spending more money.

We want a monumental City Hall, and we must pay for it. We want modern fire houses, and we must pay for them. We want palatial public schools, and we must pay for them. The old Romans built their temples and their palaces and their theaters from the plunder of the provinces; we build them from the plunder of ourselves.

As is known to everybody, this increase in taxes has to be met ultimately by the consumer. When the landlord has to pay more on his property, he makes the tenant pay more on the rent. When the tenant has to pay more on the rent, he makes the purchaser pay more on the commodities he needs. The baker increases the cost of the loaf or lessens its size. The butcher announces that meat has gone up, and in the raise recoups himself for his tribute to the landlord. So, while it is not the only factor in the increased cost of living, still the increase of taxation caused by the lavish expenditure of public money is one which the student

of economics cannot afford to neglect.

Now, if the swollen rate of taxation were caused only by the installation of permanent improvements, there would be some hope of abatement as the bonds are redeemed. But, unfortunately, the annual expenses of civic administration are also rising. This is especially true in Public Education. In California the cost of the public schools has climbed from a low proportion of the general expenditure until now it equals that of all the other departments put together. Of every hundred dollars raised by this State to pay its way, the State system of education absorbs fifty. And the end is not yet. There is now before the people a Free Text Book proposition, the adoption of which will materially increase our burdens, for adopted it will be unless all the signs of the times are at fault.

The steady rise of the school appropriation in proportion to the appropriation required to carry out the other functions of the State, is not due to expenditure for

purely school purposes or for the betterment of teachers' salaries. If such were the case, there would not be so much room for complaint, because there would be a natural limit in view. But the increase is caused by the development of new activities undertaken in connection with the schools proper, and to this development there appears to be no horizon. It is a form of the "magnification" of the State which costs money and multiplies with the fearsome fecundity of a microbe in a favorable culture medium.

One needs not to be so very old to remember a time when the American common school was an agency for the diffusion of the elements of education. It taught the youth of the land how to read, write and figure, and was content if its graduates could perform those operations with accuracy and facility. The college was frankly for such as sought a liberal education in order to pursue what are known as the learned professions. Now, however, the common schools are so crammed

with subjects that the mastery of the elements of education is a most uncommon achievement among its graduates. Between the college and the common school the high school has arisen, and at one end of its development it proclaims itself the University of the People, and at the other end it proposes to absorb two grades of the elementary course in order to produce that scholastic mermaid known as the intermediate school. In revenge the common school is reaching back to ravage the nursery; and the kindergarten dignifies with the name of scholastic education the processes of infantile alimentation, and the sub-conscious suggestion of somnolence produced by the oscillatory movement of the cradle and the crooning of that prehistoric and catastrophical epic, "Rock-a-Bye, Baby, on the Tree Top." The college is submerged in the university, which no longer demands of its alumni the discipline of an organic course of instruction, but has become an immense intellectual department store offering information on

every subject under the sun; and its customers wander from counter to counter inspecting and sampling the wares usually at their own sweet will. Moreover, the extension of the domain of knowledge or the search for new truth tends more and more to absorb university energies, so that the degree formerly the hall mark of a university course satisfactorily absolved has now become the sign of matriculation into the post-graduate departments, as if men were to be always learning and never arriving at the knowledge of the truth.

Years ago, when the advocates of parental rights in the matter of education were arguing against the incipient encroachments of the State, they prophesied that the processes then begun would infallibly lead to Communism or Socialism. They were laughed at for their pains. Such consequences might be feared in the effete Latin nations of Europe, but the sturdy individualism of America could not be corrupted by free public schools. We have passed far beyond the forebodings

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of those timid Cassandras. Not only have we free schools, but free books, free lunch, free clothes and free transportation. Not universally as yet, but more and more widely adopted every day. In the schools the State inoculates the children against smallpox, insures them against toothache, examines them for eye strain, searches their inward parts for adenoids, and if their little interiors escape the State surgeon's knife it is because the unfortunate infants are void and empty. Then there are trained nurses to inspect their food, to supervise their digestion, to feel their pulse, to test their sputum, to label their bugs. Nay, the commonest of domestic operations cannot escape the catholic care of the School Board, and there is a maid to comb the children's hair, to wash their face, to clean their teeth, to pare their nails, to button their frocks and to tie their shoes.

Formerly play was considered the very antithesis of school. Its natural spontaneity was contrasted with the artificial routine of the class room. The old saw had

it: "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy." But now the long hand of the all-compelling pedagogue has reached out into the playground, not only during school time, but in the once inviolable hours after school. No longer may the youth of the nation gambol on the green, or play ball in the vacant lot, or even do chores for mother. They are herded into so-called playgrounds, tagged, measured, weighed and card-catalogued. All the natural spontaneity of play has disappeared. The children are automata, the corpora vilia for the experiments of scientists, whose researches have never been equalled since Gulliver in his travels happened upon the philosophers of Laputa. With rings on their fingers and bells on their toes, pedometers on their ankles and resistance coils on their elbows, they are put through the predigested motions that make the formal exercises of the gymnasium a torture to every normal and healthy child.

But that is not all. You remember the

Old Man of the Sea in the veracious history of Sinbad the Sailor. The school, having once got on the neck of the community, bids fair to stay there forever. Having completely subdued the children, and having taught them that their time and their powers no longer belong to themselves or their parents, but to the State, as represented by the school authorities, the latest development aims to hold them in tutelage all the days of their life. Lest you may think I am trying to raise a cheap laugh by indulging in burlesque, I hasten to quote my authority for what follows. In the Saturday Evening Post of June 1, 1912, you will find an article entitled, "The Discovery of the Schoolhouse," by Frederick C. Howe, in which is given a sympathetic synopsis of a conference held at Madison, Wisconsin, on the new uses of the public school. That conference was no mere convention of cranks, but was attended by such men as Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, Governor Stubbs of Kansas, Governor

McGovern of Wisconsin, Senators Clapp and Pomerene, and university presidents, editors, educators, architects, from all over the country. The general thesis to which all subscribed was that it is a mistake to restrict the use of the school house to the seven hours of the school day. It belongs to the people and should be at the disposal of the people. It is downright waste not to use it after school hours for all kinds of social and civic activities. The American public school house should be the expression of popular fervor, like the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, the center of popular life, like the Forum of ancient Rome.

The new uses to which the schools are to be put are many and various, but they all have the common characteristic that they call for an immense expenditure of public money. In Rochester certain people, in order to avoid the waste of closed school houses, induced the Board of Education to appropriate $5,000 to keep them open fourteen hours in the day, instead of

seven, as if a man owning a $30 automobile duster should invest $3,000 in a car lest the $30 be unused. Chicago has spent $11,000,000 in the cause, and New York distributes annually $228,000 for school lectures and neighborhood gatherings alone.

In future the school house is to harbor a town meeting in perpetual session. Thither shall come the Mayor, the Councilmen, and even the majestic Congressmen, to give an account of their stewardship. The dull scholastic atmosphere shall be brightened by discussions on taxes, roads and candidates, and the stagnant air of authority made to vibrate to miniature cyclones of referendums and recalls. There, too, under the guidance of the beneficent Pedagogue, the citizenry is to be organized for the overthrow of the wicked boss and the destruction of the political machine. One of the most pathetic sights of the conference was the look of pained astonishment that overspread the assembly as the beneficent Peda-

gogue reported how the wicked boss aforesaid had smitten him hip and thigh and distributed his spoils.

The school is to be not only an everlasting town meeting, but it is to be a never-fading village green with an eternal May pole. "Rings, bars, and tumbling mats" oust the stiff and antiquated desks. "Boxing and wrestling matches" replace the caligraphic exercises at the blackboard. "Basket ball games" teach an accuracy unknown to the multiplication table. In part return for its quarter of a million expenditure, a school official of New York "visited one of the schools last fall and found 300 young people dancing under wholesome surroundings."

Moreover, the school-center is to be the church of the people — not a futile dogmatic church, but a modern church that brings results. Libraries, lectures, moving pictures, minstrel shows, music, ice cream and spelling bees — these are the seven sacraments of the new dispensation, and they work *ex opere oper-*

ato. "Mr. Clarence A. Perry, engaged by the Russell Sage foundation of New York to make a study of school centers, says, after an investigation of conditions in large cities: 'The girl without a social center is the mother of the woman on the street.'" Nay, more, the social center is the "one thing necessary" for, he continues: "If the city has to choose between the schools and the play centers, it could, I believe, give up the schools more safely than it could go without the play centers." Before their benign influence the "gangs of toughs" that infest our cities will disappear. Instances are given of how they have been metamorphosed into "debating clubs," to the great admiration of the merchants of the place. Surely, admiration in its original sense is the only feeling that could be aroused by the pale-livered doctrine that the superabounding vitality of red-blooded youth could find sufficient outlet for its energies in "speaking pieces."

The new school house is to be the seat

of a popular university. There is to be the natural habitat of the Free Lecturer. The winter before last 700 of the species were turned loose on the inoffensive people of New York City alone. If the lectures were anything like those evolved in this vicinity, I have a deep and abiding sympathy for the 5,400 audiences that attended them. My experience of such lectures is that, considered as a means of education, their value is nil, and that considered as a form of entertainment their cost is exorbitant.

And this university is never to let go its grip of the people "until death doth them part." One of the apostles of the new discovery spoke of a "life-long university," and from the experience of Wisconsin was drawn the hope that "Some day we shall be able to go to college all our lives—and without leaving our own ward or county." Only a sublimated university professor could conceive the *summum bonum* of human existence as going to school forever.

It would tire your patience if I were to describe in detail all the proposals for using the school house. It is to be an Agricultural Experiment Station, a Co-operative Store, a Town Hall, a People's Club, a Theater, a Branch Library, a Public Employment Bureau, a Health Office, a Dental Dispensary, a Headquarters for School Nurses, a Pure Milk Depot, an Art Gallery, a Voting Booth, a Concert Hall, a Billiard Room and a Restaurant. I will sum up this description of our present conditions by quoting the closing paragraphs of the article referred to above. It is true that the whole program has nowhere been realized, but a real program it is, and if enthusiasm and sincerity can bring it into effect, its promoters are rich in both qualities. Here is Mr. Howe's conclusion: "The school house is waiting for democracy — for the democracy that is fast finding its voice all over America. It will be the new town hall—the town hall that bred the spirit of the Revolution prior to the Battle of Lexington. In

the school house we shall breed the orators, statesmen and politicians of the future. From them will issue the musician and the artist. Out of it a new drama will spring.

"The school house will make culture, education and companionship life-long things. In the revivified old red school house democracy has possibilities that no one has fully dreamed of. It will be democracy's Acropolis! About it the life of the community will center as it centered about the Forum in ancient Rome."

II. THE CAUSES.

The foregoing rapid survey of actual conditions in American school life shows how great a hold the civic authority has obtained on the processes of education—how far the "magnification" of the State has advanced in this direction alone. The description of the proposed uses of the school house measures the extent to which the new thought hopes to go. In this latter department there is much said about

the people using the school house for this, that and the other purpose; there is nothing said about the manner in which they are to use it. After all, no matter how democratic the organization of a community may be, the people must act through officials. At the Madison conference no one seems to have thought of the number of hands necessary to do the many-sided work centered in the new school house. The janitor would be compelled to abdicate his "ancient solitary reign," and every school center would be a miniature State capitol and Washington combined. A horde of officials as industrious as the aphides on a rose bush would draw sustenance from the treasury of every school district. A band of experts would dominate the daily life of the people down to its minutest details. It would be a standing army before which the battalions of Germany would fade into insignificance; it would be a bureaucracy before which the multitudinous officials of France would hide their diminished heads.

Difficulty of Finding Causes.

Naturally the question arises at this point, How does it come to pass that people so individualistic as the Americans and so attached to personal liberty, permit such interference with their elementary rights, and what is it that moves men of education, and experience in public business, to desire to push to such extremes the "magnification" of the State?

As in every other great movement affecting the national life, it is impossible to fix on one cause as an adequate explanation of all the phenomena. The forces behind the tendencies are for the most part obscure, or rather, we are too close to them to appreciate their nature. There are, however, certain facts, some of universal occurrence, and some peculiar to American conditions, which may throw light on the receptivity of the public to the new apostolate; while I am inclined to believe that the apostolate itself is motived by a false philosophy concerning the nature of the State and a false theory concerning the development of the human race.

Getting Something for Nothing.

The first fact to which I would call your attention as explanatory of the readiness of the people to barter their rights and liberties, is the desire to get something for nothing. This appetite is universal, and manifests itself in such familiar forms as the bargain sale, the trading stamp, the coupon and the premium. Now, you will find that it is practically impossible to convince the ordinary citizen, who is taxed only indirectly, that he pays, and pays dearly, for the education his children receive in the public schools. He is firmly convinced that he is getting something for nothing — that the State is giving his little ones a gratuitous gift out of its own resources. Hence, when it is proposed to extend the scope of the State's generosity and to present the pupils with free text books, he grows enthusiastic over the prospect of sharing more largely in the public beneficence, never thinking that the State has nothing except what it gets from the people, and that he is "paying the piper"

without having the privilege of "calling the tune."

When the ordinary citizen is a property owner and a direct taxpayer, he argues in some such fashion as this: I am paying taxes for the support of the public schools; therefore it is economy for me to use them. The more use I make of them, the larger return I receive from my contribution to the State. In fact, I get back more than I pay, especially if I can avail myself of free text books, free lunch and free transportation. So far I am getting something for nothing. But he does not realize the "wear and tear" on his taxes caused by the numerous middlemen who handle them from the time they leave his hands until they are brought back by his children, and particularly he does not realize that the time of his children's schooling is only a short period of his taxpaying existence—children come and children go, but taxes go on forever.

Another fact of universal experience is human selfishness. It is not a pleasant

trait to consider, but we must acknowledge the existence among men of the tendency to shift their burdens to other people's shoulders. Those who have to do with institutions for the care of dependent children, the sick or the aged, know how ready certain persons are to turn their charges over to charity, public or private. A man, for instance, is left a widower with a number of children. He is in good health, is earning good wages, and promises the institution to pay for the rearing of his offspring. For a while he keeps his promise, but how often it happens that the payments become irregular and finally cease. He has married again, and moved away, and left his children to be cared for by the Church or State. Those of you who have had experience in orphan asylums know what measures you are compelled to adopt in order to protect the rights of children whose parents abandon them to the institution in their helpless infancy, but who wish to reclaim them the minute they are able to earn a dollar.

These, it is true, are extreme cases, but they bear witness to a widespread tendency to shift burdens to other shoulders. All I have seen of settlement work leads me to believe that, while beneficial in many respects, its great drawback lies in developing in the children the belief that they are entitled to something for nothing, and in emphasizing in the parents the tendency to allow other people do for their young what they themselves are bound to do. Hence, if the public school undertakes the ordinary domestic operations I have described above—operations which naturally belong to the home and the parent—especially if it offers free nursing and free medical attendance, things which cost money, we will find people ready enough to acquiesce, though deep down in their hearts they know they are sacrificing their self-respect and are pauperizing themselves and their children.

There is in America a special cause predisposing us to State interference. It is the correlative of the Puritan passion for med-

dling in other peoples' business. When the revolt of the sixteenth century separated the northern nations from the Church the organization of the new religions took two different paths. Protestantism is in its essence a protest against the separate natures of Church and State. It denies the existence of two distinct societies, each independent and supreme in its own sphere, and having between them charge of the destinies of mankind. In England and Germany the State absorbed the Church: in Geneva and Scotland the Church absorbed the State. New England was peopled by the spiritual children of Geneva and Scotland. The Puritans believed that the State was merely a department of the Church and should be ruled despotically in the interests of the Church. Hence came, in the halcyon days of Massachusetts, the banishment of heretics, the clipping of Quakers' ears, the persecution of witches and the minute and vexatious regulations known as the Blue Laws. Hence come, even in our own time, though the

State has long since emancipated itself, the continuous ingerence of the preachers in civic affairs, the steady pressure of the churches on the public schools, and especially the numerous political movements for regulating, antagonizing, suppressing every thing in the heavens above and the earth beneath and the waters under the earth. Never was a nation so afflicted as this with crusades, armies, phalanxes, leagues, bands, movements, ribbons white, blue and red, pledges total, partial, and for a while, reforms, abolitions, insurgencies, uplifts, fads, fancies and fanaticisms—all the spawn of the Puritan policy—

"To compound for sins that they're inclined to
By damning those they have no mind to."

America is the native home of the patent medicine, and our patent medicine is designed, not only for the body, but also for the mind. Just as we believe in a cure-all for the ills of the flesh, so we believe in a cure-all for the ills of the soul.

When anything goes wrong with the body politic, our first thought is: Let us make a law; and we have enough of fool provisions on our statute books for legislating people into morality to furnish material for the collective hallucinations of a dozen insane asylums.

During the nineteenth century the great sovereign, universal and efficacious American patent medicine was education. Education would not only deliver us from Popery, brass money and wooden shoes, but the three R's were proclaimed as an infallible specific for the elimination of crime and the production of good citizenship. Indeed, if we have the courage to sample the arguments for our public school system published sixty years ago, we shall find that they all taste of the soothing syrups whose alluring advertisements delighted our grandmothers.

Moreover, as, when one bottle of the patent medicine does not cure, you are strongly recommended to try a second, and it is impressed upon you that to obtain re-

sults the treatment must be kept up, so, when the splendid results that were to come from the public schools did not materialize, the cry went forth for more public schools. Hence it has come to pass that in the welter of public opinion on matters scholastic there are only two things on which all agree, namely, that the schools have not produced the results predicted, and therefore it is necessary to spend more money upon them, to enlarge their scope, to multiply their activities, for this kind of a kingdom of heaven also suffereth violence, and we must bankrupt ourselves, if necessary, in order to bear it away.

Such are a few of what I may call the passive causes that favor the "magnification" of the State in education. Let us now consider some of the active causes—the motives that impel men to become apostles of the new movement. Here I will briefly allude to what may be called the motive power of graft. For instance, a church or a sectarian society establishes a kindergarten, a wood yard or a social settlement.

Everything goes on swimmingly until the novelty wears off and the subscriptions begin to fail. The next step is to proclaim the work non-sectarian and to appeal to a larger circle of subscribers. For a while this measure brings some relief, but again the difficulty of making ends meet raises its ugly head. Then—nobody can tell how it is done—but the first thing you know is that the kindergarten has been incorporated into the public school system, the wood yard has become a municipal enterprise, and the social settlement is subsidized by the city department of charities, and, most beautiful arrangement of all! the original staff remain to carry on the work, now, of course at the expense of the public funds.

Proceedings such as this, however, are overshadowed by the two great impelling causes of the "magnification" of the State, which appeal not only to the practical politician, but to the educated man, the enthusiast, the humanitarian, for it is from the ranks of such as these are drawn its most effective protagonists.

Protestantism Intellectually Dead.

Here it may be well to clear the ground by calling to your mind the complete disappearance of Protestantism in America as an intellectual or moral motive power. The organizations, indeed, exist, but the soul is dead within them. The antagonism to the Mother Church is still there, but it energizes only in silly paroxysms of bigotry—beating its head against a stone wall. The old dogmas, false as they were, or rather half truths as they were, had a certain force, but you might search Protestantism with lamps and find no trace of those old dogmas now. Modernism has eaten out the marrow of the ministry, agnosticism is the very breath on which the laity lives. Hence the Protestant churches are seeking on every side for some living thing on which they may fasten themselves, and the pulpits are busy proclaiming the beauties of social service and civic worth, the value of the institutional church and the necessity of business methods in religion, and such like patent substitutes for the one thing

the Apostle chose to know—Jesus Christ and Him Crucified.

Hence it is that when public men face the problems of the day they have no inspiration in the religion of their fathers, and it is an article of faith with them that the Catholic Church has nothing, at least in the province of intellect, that an enlightened man need consider. Consequently, they are thrown back on the premises of mere materialism, and their philosophy deals with a humanity whose destinies are bounded by the cradle and the grave.

Among the tenets of modern philosophy perhaps the most universal is that concerning the nature of the State. Nothing is more common nowadays than to hear that the people are the State, and that the people must rule. No doubt, there is a sense in which these statements are true, but there is a sense also in which they are false, and unfortunately it is in the false sense they obtain currency amongst us. The theory of the social contract is the

theory on which all our modern American policies are founded. The individuals of a country create the State by agreeing to give certain powers to the government. The only limit to the power of the State is the will of the people. No matter what the voters authorize the State to do, that the State has a right to do.

Hence it follows that there is nothing in human life, nothing in human society, that is not within the jurisdiction of the State. Therefore every human organization derives not only its powers, but its very existence from the State. Therefore every individual is completely at the mercy of the State. If the family exists, it is because the State has made it and endowed it with certain rights and privileges, which rights and privileges the State can alter or take away. If the Church exists, it is because the State incorporates or tolerates it. It has no powers of its own, it can enjoy only those granted by law, assumed by custom, and allowed by indifference. If the individual has any

rights, it is because the omnipotent State, that is to say, the will of the people, has not taken them from him; if he has any privileges, it is because the State, that is to say, the majority, has in its beneficence enfranchised him.

This is the first principle of modern philosophy, and the second is the popular conception of the theory of evolution. In these two tenets we have sufficient explanation of the new apostolate of the "magnification" of the State, for on them hangeth the Law and the Prophets. I do not intend here to enter on a scientific examination of the doctrines of evolution or of the various schools into which its supporters are divided. It is sufficient to know evolution as the masses understand it, and this sort of evolution is in reality a religion, or rather a superstition. Of the millions of men who give their adhesion to the tenets of evolution there are very few who are competent to render a reason for the faith that is in them, and these few usually adopt an attitude of philo-

sophic doubt. But this does not prevent the so-called popular philosophers from presenting evolution, not as a working hypothesis in the study of nature, but as a demonstrated scientific fact—the great achievement of modern research. So from newspaper and magazine, from text book and platform, goes up the cry with more than Mahometan insistency, "Great is evolution, and Darwin is its prophet."

The popular religion of evolution may be summed up in two dogmas: First, we are in a condition of constant development, and, secondly, development is caused and directed by external agencies, that is to say, by the environment or the conditions in which we live, and move, and have our being. Hence it follows that if we are to develop along favorable lines, we must exist in a favorable environment. But as we are now intelligent beings we must no longer leave our environment to the haphazard methods of nature; we must, on the contrary, bend our intelligence to the task of so regulating the con-

ditions surrounding the race that humanity will be raised to higher and higher planes.

You see at once how this theory of the molding power of external circumstances dovetails into the Puritan system of Blue Laws and inquisitorial regulations, and you can understand why the religion of evolution has made so complete a conquest of the non-Catholic American mind. The Christian teaching that the kingdom of heaven is within us is utterly rejected. With the calm pity of superior culture they correct the Christ who bids us to seek first the kingdom of heaven and its justice, and all material needs shall be satisfied, and they proclaim that we must first be anxious as to what we shall eat, and what we shall drink, and wherewithal we shall be clothed, and then they say the kingdom of heaven shall be added to us.

Hence in the domain of education the philosophy of evolution rejects the idea that teaching is the awakening and guid-

ing of a vital process in the mind of the pupil by which his internal and native energies are exercised and developed until he is able to employ them as a free agent on a universe over which he has been given dominion. Rather the mind of child is a plastic mass, to be molded by the forces that surround it, and to take on the image and likeness of its environment. Wherefore the necessity of one great supervising intelligence to deal with the circumstances in which the nation's youth is spent. No longer must their shaping be left to accident, to nature or to the family, but the authority of the State must be exercised and the finances of the State must be spent, that the child of the State shall be fashioned as the highest intelligence of the State directs.

Surely it is a magnificent vision that has dawned on the proud eyes of the philosophers of our day, as magnificent as the vision that shone before the Son of the Morning what time his ambitious feet ascended the sides of the North and

aspired to the throne of the Most High. They sit in serene majesty in their seats of learning, and on their knees lie the fortunes of men as on the knees of the gods. On their shoulders is the key of knowledge, in their hands the rod of power, on their lips the creative word. Before the brightness of their rising the other-world picture of the pale and thorn-crowned Galilean fades away and Man has come into his own at last. No longer shall he lift lame hands to a heaven that hears not and to a God that answers not. Heaven is here upon earth and humanity is god—a god not only conscious of his own needs, but omnipotent in supplying them. No more is he to be named less than the angels—he is the Demiurge who lords it over the powers of nature and bends them to his will. And lo! as a butterfly on a summer's day brushes against the cheek of a child, the frozen mass glides by the steel sides of man's mightiest achievement, and in a moment the gorgeous palace with its human freight is

"Shot, precipitated
Adown Titanic glooms of chasméd fears."

A microscopic germ begotten in the corruption of earth drags through the untimely gates of death him who taught men to spurn the earth, to walk on the wings of the wind and to sail with the eagle's steadfast eye into the splendors of the sun. *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas.*

III. THE OUTLOOK.

Having considered American conditions in as far as they refer to the School, the Family and the State, and having tried to find out what are the causes that have produced those conditions, it is now in order to ask ourselves what should be our practical attitude as Catholics and Americans towards this state of things.

While I do not wish to pose as a pessimist or to minimize in any way our rights and our duties as citizens or to disparage the talent for public affairs and the devo-

tion to principle that undoubtedly exist amongst us, still I am convinced that we can do nothing by direct action to arrest the "magnification" of the State, the abasement of the family and the elimination of the individual in the province of education. My reasons for this belief I will give briefly. In the first place, the ruling thought of this country is now secularist. The public schools have done their work well. They have atrophied the religious sense in the vast majority of their graduates. The universities are substituting the superstition of evolution for the cast-off clouts of Christianity. Thus all over the country today we have in full blast innumerable factories, not indeed for the making of infidels, but for the production of devotees to the cult of humanity. In their opinion, revealed religion is a delusion and a snare, and, having acuteness enough to recognize that Catholicism is the only logical form of revealed religion extant, they look upon it as the most indefensible. Therefore, any direct proposal coming

from us would not even be examined. The mere fact that it emanates from Catholics ensures its immediate and unanimous rejection.

In the second place, the great body of American non-Catholics have it in their bones that we want to destroy the public schools. As long as we pay our taxes and say nothing, the feeling is quiescent, but let us make the most innocent proposal about the schools, which, after all, are our schools as much as theirs, and immediately the red flag is thrown to the wind, the big drum is beaten, and the country is stirred to guard its liberties against the Pope. There is absolutely nothing we can do to remove this prejudice. We may admit the practical necessity of public schools such as we have in the States, we may pay for their upkeep, we may serve on School Boards, we may teach in their halls, we may send our children to their classes, but there is one thing we cannot do, and that is give our approval to the theory that mere secular

education can take the place of the grace of God and the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That flag we nail to the mast. As long as we keep it flying we must be objects of suspicion to those who make secularism their idol. They have lifted up their image of silver and gold, and they command all, under pain of high treason, to fall down and adore it. But we—much as we dislike to stand apart from our fellow citizens—we must worship toward Jerusalem. We know there is but one way for man to be born again, and that is of water and the Holy Ghost. We know there is but one way for man to attain the full possibilities of human life, and that is by denying himself and taking up his cross, and following in the narrow way that is marked by tears and blood. We know there is but one way for man to reach the destiny for which he was created, and that is by persevering to the end in faith and hope and charity. In the face of this knowledge and of these tremendous mysteries, how puny are the

devices of human wisdom, how contemptible the threat of human anger, how high the commission laid upon every one of us, "We must obey God rather than man."

In the third place, even in the rare cases when our arguments are considered and their force is felt, the result is not to draw the upholders of secular education to our position, but to force them further along their own lines. For instance, one permanent result of nearly a century's argumentation on the part of Catholics is the establishment of the truth that the training of the intellect does not involve the training of the will. Mere knowledge does not make character. The most ardent supporters of secular education now admit this as a first principle; but it does not bring them a whit nearer to the Catholic contention that the only sure and efficacious way for training the will is through religion. On the contrary, their dislike for religion is only intensified, and they would banish it from home life and from public life as they

have banished it from school life. The original position of the secularists in America, as elsewhere, was that religion is a detriment in education. In the early days they carefully masked that position, because religion was in possession. They gracefully set religion in a niche apart, and insinuated that knowledge was not only power, but morality. Now that logic and experience have shown the folly of their principle, their remedy is not to bring back religion, but to expel it from the balance of the citizen's life and substitute therefor external influences under State control. In fact, as Anti-Christ is the ape of Christ, they parallel the Christian teaching that an unlettered man of good morals is a better citizen than a learned man of bad morals, as we have seen in the report of the investigator of the Sage Foundation, who said that the city could better afford to give up the schools than the social centers.

At this point, in order to guard against misunderstanding, let me say a word about

our attitude toward free schools, free text books, free lunches, playgrounds, social centers and the like. As far as I know, there is nothing in Catholic teaching or in Catholic practice antagonistic to those devices considered in themselves. Indeed, I do not think I am wrong in saying that the ideal Catholic school is a free school. Such, at least, is my reading of Church legislation, not only in modern times, but in the dim ages when Christian schools were first organized. It is true that in many places it is undesirable to realize that ideal under our circumstances, and that in other places it is impossible — nevertheless, the ideal is there. I know of many schools — in Ireland, for instance — where the Brothers and Sisters not only gave their pupils a free breakfast, but also free clothes. As to playgrounds, gymnasiums, social centers and the like, I don't suppose there is any priest who at some time in his career has not tried to help and interest the young people in his charge by some such attrac-

tions, and often with considerable success. Far be it from us to object to any measure that would alleviate the burden of the poor and brighten their lives. We recognize that if in a great city the vacant lot has disappeared, we must institute the municipal playground to keep the children off the streets. We know too well the manifold temptations that encompass the young not to be glad to see centers multiplied where they may find decent amusement in honest surroundings. What we object to is, in the first place, the attempt to make the conditions of a congested city the rule and law for the whole nation and the exaltation of the means to meet the consequences of congestion as an end in itself to be sought for, regardless of consequences. In the second place, we object to the adoption of palliatives when the source of the evil continues active. What is the use of a porous plaster on a broken leg? How can a playground abate the tenement nuisance? The real remedy is to regulate

or, if necessary, destroy the greedy landlordism that houses human beings in rabbit hutches. It often comes to me when I hear our distinguished Catholic publicists thundering against Socialism that they would be doing far better work for our Church and our people if they thundered against the evils that have produced Socialism. After all, the people in our care are they who have most to gain spiritually and materially from a betterment of economic conditions. I will confess it gets on my nerves as I see Catholics swell up with complacency when they are patronizingly told that the Church is the great bulwark of property by some millionaire against whom the defrauded wages of his workmen are crying to heaven for vengeance. It is true we defend the right of private property; but we also proclaim the duties of private property, and I say with a full sense of responsibility and a knowledge of what the people are thinking that the times demand that we put the emphasis of our

teaching not so much on the absolute rights of property as on its fiduciary character, a character that entails duties towards the community not the less obligatory because they are rooted in the virtue of charity instead of in the virtue of justice.

In the third place, our objection to those devices is founded in the use made of them to destroy the independence of the individual and the authority of the family and to exalt unduly the powers of the State. In the course of this paper I have given sufficient examples of this tendency to absolve me from the obligation of enlarging on the subject now. I will therefore hasten to the conclusion by explaining what I mean by indirect action in meeting the "magnification" of the State, especially in the province of education.

Inasmuch as we cannot expect to influence those who are without, we must endeavor to confirm those who are within. Our mission now does not lead us into

the way of the Gentiles or the cities of the Samaritans, but to the sheep that perish of the House of Israel. If the Catholic community is the salt of the earth, what will happen if the salt lose its savor? While the Church as Church is indefectible, any local church may fade and die. Is the spirit of the American Church such that we need have no fear? How stands it with the laity who have to bear the brunt of the battle? Are they clad in the whole armor of God? Are they girt with truth and shod with the Gospel, and shielded with faith, and helmeted with salvation, and armed with the sword of the Spirit which is the word of God?

That is the question we must put to ourselves, and if there be the slightest hesitation in the reply there is the weak spot we must at once repair. It is not enough in these days that Catholics—especially Catholics who are in public life—should know only the truths necessary to their personal salvation. On them is the solicitude of Church and State, and if they

would do their duty they must know the Catholic attitude toward the great fundamental problems of society that are now occupying the popular mind. We have a philosophy which is the outcome of the noblest efforts of human reason, enlightened by divine revelation and controlled by the experience of all the ages. To know that philosophy and to apply its principles to the questions of the day is the by no means easy task for which our educated Catholics should be fitted. Then, indeed, will they be men of light and leading. Then, indeed, will their conclusions stand the test of time, of facts and of argument. Then, indeed, will they be not only the champions of the Church, but also the benefactors of the State, for righteousness, and righteousness alone, exalteth a nation.

And as the main movement we have to meet is the undue extension of the powers of the State, so it is necessary for us to have exact and clear-cut ideas of the nature of the State. This is a wide subject

which I cannot touch now; but it is fully elaborated in the immortal encyclicals of Leo XIII and in the numerous text books of Catholic philosophy. In view, however, of our special circumstances, there is one point we cannot emphasize too strongly or too often, and that is that the State is not an artificial creation of man's good pleasure. The State exists independently of the will of man, and its essence and its properties are determined by nature. It is therefore a natural entity, and though, like most natural entities, it is improved by art, there is a limit to the application of art beyond which there is decay and death. The State, too, is not omnipotent; its powers are restricted, and no amount of legislation, direct or indirect, can give the State authority beyond its sphere.

Then the family is not a product of man's devising. It also is a natural society and derives its rights, not from the State, but from nature. It is true it is subordinate to the State, but, as the State did not

make it, the State cannot destroy it. It is the Ark of the Covenant, and if any man lay profane hands upon it his generation is cut off from the face of the earth.

Neither is God's Church an artificial creation of human wisdom, nor yet is it a natural society. It is a supernatural organization founded by Christ and set in this world, not as subordinate to the State or drawing its power from the State, but as supreme and independent in its own sphere. It is indeed ready to co-operate with the State in all that pertains to human welfare. It is most scrupulous of the rights of the State and most generous in its concessions in mixed matters as long as principle is not touched. But when it comes to its divine authority and its essential attributes, then it is ready to suffer all things, even to the effusion of blood, rather than betray the trust committed to it by Christ.

Here it seems to me that it is absolutely necessary for us to indoctrinate the minds of the rising generation with the history

of the Church's long struggle for liberty, the achievements of the confessors and the glorious testimony of the martyrs. Americans have grown so used to freedom that they have ceased to appreciate it. The generation that came to this country from over seas knew what persecution meant. Few of their children that have been born here know what it is to suffer for the faith.

Hence it is necessary for us to implant deep in their minds the truth that Christ is a sign to be spoken against and that His Church is a walled city beleaguered by the Gates of Hell. In every age the State has striven to bring her into bondage and to do violence to the conscience of her children. We hope and pray that our times may be peaceful and that we may not see the destruction of that toleration that has been our country's noblest boast. But we know not the day or the hour. We must be always ready, for the trial may come sooner than we imagine. It is impossible for the pagan State not to per-

secute, and for many a long day all our national forces have been making the State pagan.

To impress those ideas upon our people so that they may become, as it were, a second nature to them, we must have recourse to the ancient practice of the Church. When heresies arise, as they must arise, the ecclesiastical authority examines them, discusses them, states their tenets in precise language, condemns them, and publishes the form of sound words that enshrines the true teaching. In this process her most learned men are engaged, and every resource of sacred and even profane science is invoked. But the Church is not content with this purely intellectual procedure. She casts about for some pious practice, some sacramental, some popular devotion, and she makes it, as it were, the symbol of the dogma she has defined. For instance, the doctrine of our redemption by the death of Christ was a stumbling block to the Jews and a folly to the Gentiles. To emphasize her

teaching the Church adopted the Cross as the exponent of that mystery. The Christians signed it on their bodies, wore it on their clothes, impressed it on their domestic utensils, placed it on their churches, imposed it on the very crown of empire, and after two thousand years we still proudly call it the sign of salvation. In the same way, when the single personality of Christ was denied by the Nestorians, the Church was not satisfied with learned definitions of the dogma in council, but, commanding the people to invoke the Blessed Virgin as the Mother of God, she brought home to the rudest the truth that the same Person who is the Son of God is also Son of the Virgin Mary.

Now, while it is necessary for educated Catholics to know the great principles and conclusions of Catholic philosophy, it is also necessary to put those principles and conclusions into some concrete form that will impress upon every mind the rights of the family, of the individual and of the Church against the unregu-

lated ambition of the State. For such a purpose I know of nothing more fitting, nothing more available, nothing more efficacious, than the Parochial School.

The Parochial School stands as a monument to the conviction of Catholic parents that on them God has laid the primary obligation of educating their children. It stands as the fortress of the family—a testimony to the fact that nature has instituted the domestic society as the proper means for raising citizens, not only for the commonwealths of earth, but also for the Kingdom of Heaven. It stands as the bulwark of individual rights and individual dignity, teaching its pupils that they are not mere cogs in the wheels of State, but that they are free and responsible beings placed on this earth to work out their salvation and that in the tremendous day when the Lord of the living and the dead shall enter into judgment with His servants, it will profit little if they have gained the whole world and lost their own soul.

The Parochial School! Humble and unpretentious though it may be, how many sacrifices does it not represent—sacrifices of priest and people and the daily sacrifice of the noble men and women who, under the vows of religion, spend themselves and are spent that Holy Mother Church may have a cavern in the rock and a cleft in the wall to raise her little children unspotted from the world. It is worthy of our admiration and of our support, not only for the work it does, but for the principles it stands for. To these principles let us bind ourselves with links of steel. Let us not be dazzled by the pomp and circumstance of secular schools that lay tribute on public funds and private generosity—the figure of this world passeth away. How gloriously the house of Tiberius shone from the Palatine, how shameful the cross on which slaves were hanged! The palace of Tiberius has long been a shapeless mound—a quarry for the marbles that decorate the cross-crowned

tomb of the Fisherman. *Stat crux dum volvitur orbis.*

In season and out of season let us hearten ourselves to self-confidence and loyalty to our own traditions. I know the temptation is almost irresistible to follow in the line of what is called modern improvements. Let us remember that it is a temptation, and our greatest danger is from the seepage of secularism. Far be it from me to advocate obscurantism or to turn away from the light, but let us be sure that it is the light, and not the deceptive glimmer of the false dawn. Our children have a right to the best, but what is newest is seldom best. Our schools should be open to every inspiration of the free spirit, but then they must be as rock-built towers secure on adamantine foundations, standing four square to every breeze that blows, and not slight and rudderless skiffs that every wind of doctrine tosses to and fro.

This, then, in conclusion, I conceive to be the practical attitude demanded from

American Catholics to resist the unlawful encroachments of the State, namely, to continue as we have begun in the strengthening and extending of our own system of education in accordance with our own principles and ideals. Parish School and College and University—let them be our concrete protest against secularism and State omnipotence. Those who are outside may choose to feast of the flesh pots in the land of bondage, but, as for us and our house, we will serve the Lord through whom kings reign and princes decree justice. Neither let us lose heart, though the task is hard and the outlook dark. What if the Gentiles rage and the people meditate vain things? After all, we are not of ignoble blood; we are the children of the martyrs, and the God of our fathers, who led them with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, will not deny us the shadow of His wings. The sky may lower and the tempest break and the ocean chafe against its accustomed bounds, but God shall fold the clouds as sheep and rebuke the winds,

and they shall be still and the sea shall abate its swelling waves. Then from the midst of our tribulation we shall lift up our eyes and behold the cross still shining on the eternal hills, and the world shall know that the Lord Omnipotent reigneth.

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